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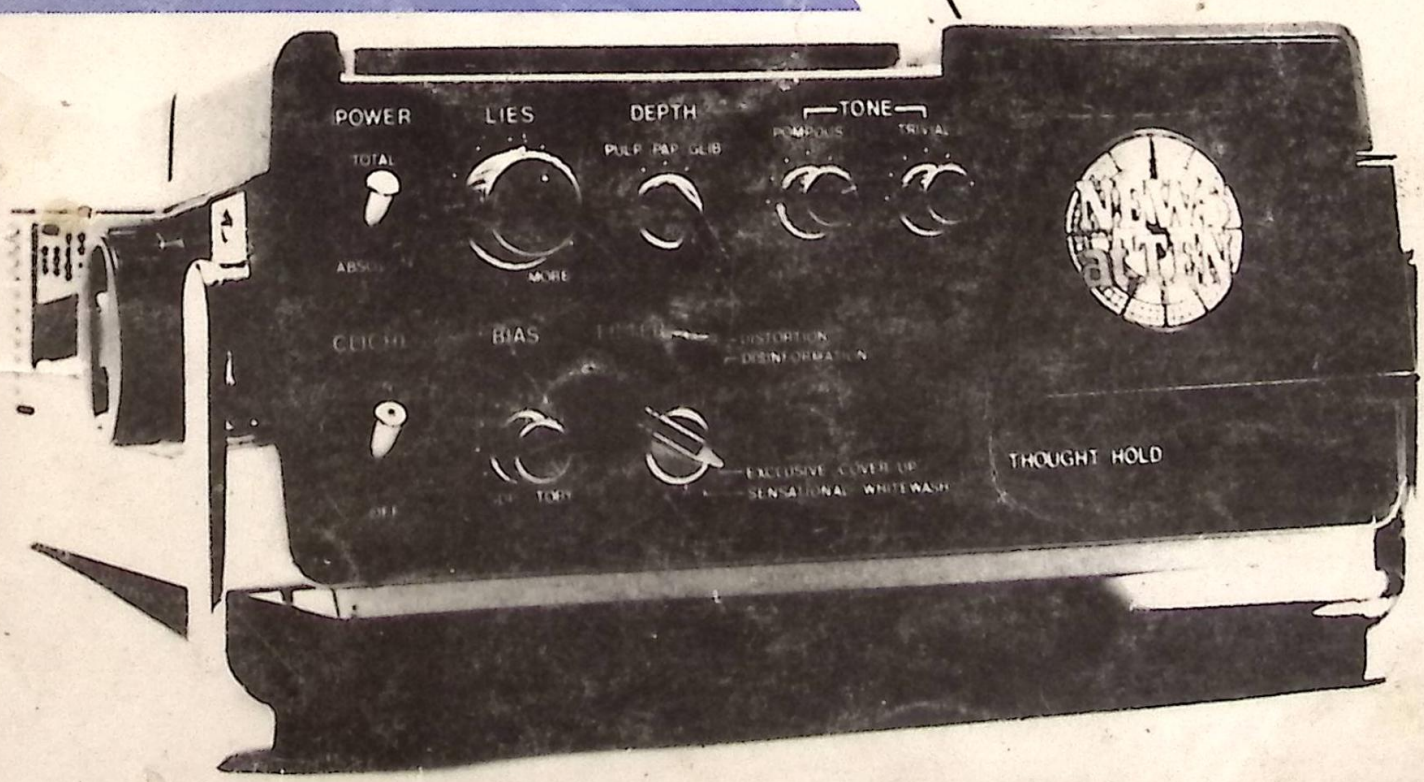
TELL US LIES ABOUT THE MINERS

d. douglass



First published by D.Douglass, Doncaster DAM-IWA, Cambridge DAM-IWA
and South London DAM-IWA in 1985.
Typeset, designed and lay-out by South London DAM-IWA.
Printed by Aldgate Press (01-247-3015)
D. Douglass, Doncaster DAM-IWA: PO Box 96, Doncaster.
Cambridge DAM-IWA: c/o Grapevine, 25 Gwydir St., Cambridge.
South London DAM-IWA: 121 Railton Rd, London SE24.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE GREAT COAL STRIKE OF 1984/1985

DAVID JOHN DOUGLASS-
NUM BRANCH DELEGATE
HATFIELD MAIN BRANCH
DONCASTER

'What follows in this little pamphlet should give the reader a glimpse of the monumental distortion by the media of the facts of our recent dispute. If it reads like a suggestion of 'conspiracy' all I can say is that the facts presented here are the full facts, it would be a rather naive person who would say the press coverage and the media presentation of our stand was an accident.

I have employed no special monitoring techniques and relied only on my daily watching of the TV and reading of the press, my advantage is that having been deeply involved in the struggle I have been able to contrast this presentation with the actual facts.

People 'on the left' have a tendency to take for granted that everyone knows 'the capitalist press is biased' and that this assumption is commonly accepted. It is not, a great many people in Britain, perhaps the majority, still believe that the British press is free, and truthful, that the TV has no axe to grind and reports the news faithfully as it happens. I hope this pamphlet will show those people how dangerously wrong that belief is.'

David Douglass is the co-author of a book dealing with current mining conditions and the background development to the recent strike:–

A MINERS LIFE published by Routledge and Keegan-Paul.
Also see MINERS QUARRYMEN AND SALTWORKERS, ed. Ralph Samuels, Pub. R.K.P.
PEOPLES HISTORY AND SOCIALIST THEORY, ed. Ralph Samuels, Pub. R.K.P.

TELL US LIES ABOUT THE MINERS

A huge number of women, children and men living within the solidly pro-union mining communities, are today in possession of a radical new understanding of the nature of 'the media', the press, radio and TV.

Before the strike these forms were seen as a means to a background summary of what was going on in Britain and the world.

The more thoughtful have perceived the evening's presentation of the news or the mornings' papers as a more or less objective statement of what was going on. Even those who detected an imbalanced presentation, a right wing slant, or a pro-employer angle, never perceived the media as an actual *manipulative* tool of the ruling class. Such a conception might have appeared extreme or naive. People living outside of mining communities *still* believe that *that* concept is the work of an over-active leftwing paranoic mind.

In fact, we in the mining communities have been hit by a war of propaganda; not simply bias (although the bias defies simple description). but an actual *campaign* by the media against the miners and the miners leaders. The press has sought to attack us, and to lead public opinion against us.

Self-styled 'quality' newspapers, whose intellectualism previously only allowed the most measured of assertions, the most tentative of judgements, suddenly became brash and vulgar advocates of snobbery and class hatred. Witness *The Sunday Times* (12th August 1984):—

'In the past thirty years two social processes have siphoned off men of initiative and ability: educational selection has left a residue of D and E stream Secondary Modern school pupils for pit work — there has been a massive haemorrhage of talent from mining communities. . . which have drained away the most enterprising men from the more northerly fields.

IT IS THE DILUTED HUMAN RESIDUES THAT REMAIN especially in Yorkshire and Durham that have been most effectively manipulated.

They. . . have learned to repeat slogans "No pit closures on economic grounds", "Cowards hide behind ballots". Whose horrendous implications they do not begin to grasp.

Five years in the E stream of a comprehensive school is an excellent training in sheer bloody-mindedness.'

No, not a letter from some spluttering Colonel Blimp but a commissioned feature article by a Professor Frank Musgrove of Manchester University.

STRIKE DIARY

How *The Sun* blinds millions

Beautifully set out for the world to see, how *The Sun* adjusts scab figures in a naked attempt to influence opinion and weaken the strike.

As reported in the previous issue of *The Miner*, Editor Kelvin MacKenzie stopped the presses in the middle of the November 20th print run and added another 15,000 to the scab figures.

He was afraid that the lesser number would aid the strike.

Now you don't see it . . .

THE FLOOD BACK TO WORK

THIS table shows how the first trickle of miners returning to work has suddenly swollen into a flood. The totals of working miners are :

Region :	Oct 15	Nov 12	Nov 19
SCOTLAND	336	671	1,258
NORTH EAST	22	321	1,527
NORTH YORKSHIRE	18	138	372
DONCASTER	21	67	142
BARNSLEY	8	115	314
SOUTH YORKSHIRE	26	294	957
NORTH DERBYSHIRE	972	2,410	3,519
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	No detailed figures available but an estimated 28,000 out of a total of 30,000 at work throughout the period		
SOUTH MIDLANDS	4,852	5,020	5,320
WESTERN	5,172	5,848	6,138
SOUTH WALES	0	54	84
TOTAL	39,427	42,938	47,631

. . . Now you do

FLOOD BACK TO WORK

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WESTERN	5,172	5,848	6,138
SOUTH WALES	0	54	84
Ancillary workers	15,000	15,000	15,000
TOTAL	54,427	57,938	62,631

Same day — different story. The extra 15,000 in the second table are labelled 'ancillary workers.' Notice the dead give-away: How their numbers remain idiotically constant from October 15 to November 19. To have varied the figure would have taxed *The Sun* editorial brains beyond repair.

Small wonder that Fleet St., TV and radio now enjoy the same sort of trust among miners as people felt towards Hitler 50 years ago.

● Pass this on to the public so that a wider audience can see how opinions are outrageously manipulated.

THE TV PROSECUTION

The TV commentators have led the field with more and more extreme suggestions as to what to do with us. 'Why haven't you used the Employment Act?' they demanded of the Coal Board, 'with all the taxpayers money at stake, don't you think it's about time *more* injunctions were served?' So then the commentator, irate and 'practical' takes on the garb not of an impartial commentator, nor even a *biased* commentator, but that of a prosecutor, a vigilante of conservatism, moderation, law and order.

'Why' demanded a BBC interviewer of the Chief Constable of Yorkshire, 'Why aren't there more miners behind bars at this time?'

The commentator/prosecutor no longer *reports* of a split in the miners ranks, but advocates it, predicts it, engineers it, and distributes massive reams of propaganda and peak TV viewing hours to encourage it. Glorying the strikebreakers vilifies the strikers.

Any notion of an independent free media in Britain must be a very hollow dream indeed, if it ever existed in the first place, it is certainly laid to rest now.

Ever since May the newspapers and the TV have been full of stories about 'violent pickets', 'pit mobs', 'pit head thugs' and of course 'heroic working miners'. Scargill was some kind of crazed demon head of a strike which was falling apart from the moment it began. The language has been choice. Pickets are 'THUGS', a picket line 'A MOB', police ranks no matter how unruly or vast are never called a mob. Scabs 'BRAVE' the picket line, though pickets never 'BRAVE' the police ranks.

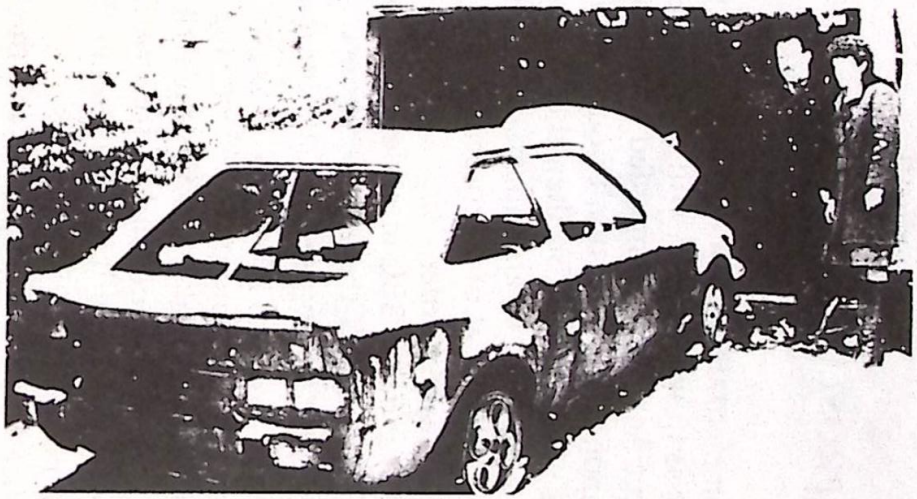
The point to be underlined is that drafting such headlines, in carefully selecting which words to use, not for any objective purpose or any grammatical or even stylish selection, but solely to present and propagate the desired political values is a daily occurence.

The press, the TV, the radio SUBVERTS and quite deliberately subverts the ability of the public at large to rationally assess any situation and understand what is going on around them.

THE NATURE OF THE BEAST

Of course the nature of the beast, which has just now revealed itself to us the mining folk, has stalked the streets of occupied Ulster unhindered and unfettered by investigative journalism or unbiased reporting. British public opinion, the miners included, haven't exactly raised a stink about what's going on over the water. Because the press almost without exception has

The violence they don't shout about



OUR pictures show a striking miner and his wife examining the wreckage of their car and garage, burnt out by attackers who spray-painted "revenge" on the wall of the house. Damage amounted to £9,000 in just one of several outrages against strikers, in which working miners are known or suspected to be involved. But there has been no outcry from the Tory front bench, no condemnation by the coal board, no universal horror coverage by Fleet Street and television. The Yorkshire Miner brings together just some of these incidents, which have been largely ignored, in an attempt to redress the balance.

never told anyone what's going on over the water. It's been too easy just to sit back and believe what the besuited pundits on the TV screens have spoon fed us.

'The calm orderly long suffering impartial British soldier'. 'The mindless hooligan, murderer, terrorist mick minority'. 'The ordinary peaceful heroic British loyalist men and women'. . . AND WE'VE BELIEVED IT!

Now it seems we have the cheek to wonder why people uninvolved in this dispute believe the 'terrorist, hooligan, minority, extremist bomb-throwing, murdering suicide-inducing. . .' crap about us. BUT THEY DO. Because that little screen is what people perceive AS REALITY. It is upon that reality, so perceived, that they make their judgements and base their beliefs.

At the *TV Festival in Edinburgh* (1984) the BBC in its own defence cited an opinion poll in which the majority of people thought the miners had had fair coverage. . . well of course! How on earth would *they* know otherwise. It is a hall of mirrors.

If you're in a position to manipulate the images on that little screen, then in effect you *will* manipulate reality, that is the reality at least as far as most people will perceive it. You will choose the facts, shape and colour events, get the public opinion you desire and thus *make* the kinds of people you require. Oh yes 1984 arrived and peoples' minds *have* been seriously interfered with, though a lot of people sadly don't yet realise it.

BOURGEOIS POLITICAL THEORY

A free press so pontificated over in bourgeois political theory has been eclipsed by the most servile compliance to government dictate, both overt, through 'D' notices and 'We are not amused' notices. But also through personal toadying, they all want to be Sir Reginald Bosanquet, and Sir Robin Day or Sir Alistair Burnett, they all want the peerage, the patronage and respond to the propaganda needs of their class accordingly.

Victor Matthews received his peerage in 1980. . . the Matthews group owns the *Daily Express* along with *The Mail*. They are paid for services rendered – Sir Larry Lamb, Sir John Junor, editors of *The Express*, Sir David English and Sir Patrick Sergeant editors of *The Mail*.

Actually the British press has been moving steadily away from an independant and 'radical' bourgeois independence toward greater and greater servility and monolithic control over the last fifty years.

Such 'independence' was absent and ignored or else crushed during the Brixton battles, or in Moss Side, Mass arrests, dawn raids, riots go

unreported for fear of starting a prairie-fire. Deaths and murders and genocide ARE news, but if it's a 'black question' and it's explosive, you don't report it. So when a riot seemingly suddenly erupts, it seems to have come from nowhere, the build up and background although well known to the media was kept secret from the unsuspecting British public.

Interestingly enough the phrase 'THE ENEMY WITHIN' so seized upon by Thatcher and echoed far and wide by the press was borrowed directly from the well known democrat Enoch Powell in his 'Rivers of Blood' speech in the 1970s, made against Black people and to incite racial violence against Black people.

In our case there has been a concerted effort to HIDE our case, tc disguise the true reasons for the strike, i.e. against premature pit closures and against compulsory redundancy.

The press has continued to assert that no-one will be made compulsorarily redundant, even when they had copies of the Minutes of the Coal Industry National Consultative Council March 1984:

'to make the Industry competitive as the basis for expansion from that level. The Board would not be managing properly if this vital transition was not achieved humanely, fairly and with the minimum of hardship to those in the industry.

Mr. Sampey expressed NACODS' concern and frustration at the rate of manpower reduction in the industry. It appeared that increased performance as a result of the incentive scheme and investment simply meant fewer jobs. In reply to Mr. Sampey, Mr MacGregor said that the Board's objective was to avoid compulsory redundancy, but it was not possible to guarantee this. The effect of the present dispute would make the Board's task more difficult. Mr MacGregor said that the uneconomic capacity was holding the industry back, and that the planned changes would lead to a secure industry that could move forward to be the best in Europe and the world.

Even though at every stage we have agreed *of course* worked out exhausted pits will close, the press has deliberately tried to present our case as an absurd attempt to keep working pits which have no coal in them. Thousands, perhaps even millions of people in Britain are still convinced that that is what we were trying to do!

The *Daily Express*, Friday September 7th 1984, talking about the forthcoming Union/Board meeting:—

'IT COULD BE A VERY SHORT CONFRONTATION. THE BOARD CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT WORKED OUT MINES MUST GO IF JOBS ARE TO BE PRESERVED.'

And again *Express* comment same day:—

'What a crusty reactionary is our Neil Kinnock. He abhors anything new. Old exhausted pits? "Keep them" says Neil'.

Coupled with this total disregard for our case has been the deliberate personalising of the dispute. This strike started when Cortonwood Colliery was given a couple of weeks notice of closure, Cortonwood had struck and asked for assistance from the rest of the Yorkshire Coalfield in accordance with an individual ballot decision of 1981. Mass pit head meetings were arranged at every pit in Yorkshire and a vote taken on whether to support Cortonwood OR NOT. Arthur Scargill wasn't present at any of these pit head meetings, neither was he at the Area Council Meeting at which the proposal for Yorkshire to strike was presented. He didn't speak at the Council Meeting and didn't vote in that decision. It was passed unanimously and yet from day one the press has called it SCARGILL'S STRIKE. When the Yorkshire Area went to the National Executive Committee for support from other areas under rule 51 of our union's constitution, the case was put by the Yorkshire delegation, and voted upon by the NEC members according to the wishes of their Areas. Scargill doesn't even have a vote at that meeting! Still, SCARGILL'S STRIKE becomes the watch-word of press propaganda.

Peter Walker on TV 16th October 1984:—

'I blame Mr Scargill for there being a strike in the first place.'

BBC 1 'Look North' Tuesday 25th September 1984:—

'Mr Scargill has had a busy day trying to gather support for his *strike.'*

So it has gone on from the start to the finish with everyone from the average person on the street to Her Royal Highness laying everything at Scargill's door. . . a hate object. . . an identifiable enemy in an uncomprehensible struggle. Everything becomes clear, there is not too much to think about, it is a dispute about personalities, not issues or causes, or sides or classes. An individual popularity poll with the media working the social clapometer.

Thursday 19th July 1984, BBC2 several times showed an interview clip with a government spokesman saying:—

'This is not a miners strike. It is a Scargill strike.'

The pickets, deployed by area strike committees, at first from Panel HQs and then from a central Yorkshire committee, went to locations known only to the Committee but were known throughout the media as *'SCARGILLS PICKETS'.*

Even though he didn't deploy them, didn't know where they were going, or indeed where they had been until after they arrived back and the story was in the news.

There are no depths to which the press would not sink to find an angle on Arthur. . . or Anne. Witness the antics of two journalists from *The Mail* who rang the Barnsley Women's Support Group perporting to be a Preston Women's Group, with a factory collection 'for the miners

children'. By this means they got themselves invited to the next meeting of the women. . . where they took photos of the people at the meeting. These duly appeared in *The Mail On Sunday* together with the vindictive comment:—

'They won't be smiling when they see this picture in this newspaper this morning.'

'Mrs Anne Scargill in the striped top is in the centre of the group.'

The reporter commenting on the fact that Anne and the other women don't do interviews with newspapers, noted with apparent surprise:—

'Newspapers are seen as part of a general capitalist conspiracy and so are not to be trusted!'

Mark Hollingsworth, giving the low-down on behind the scenes editing, tells us in April's edition of *The New Socialist* how Robert Maxwell publisher of The Mirror Group Newspapers operated during the strike.

'On 27th July the Daily Mirror*'s industrial editor Geoffrey Goodman analysed the role of Mrs Thatcher. . . after she had attacked the miners as 'the enemy within'. In the papers first edition (he) showed how Thatcher's hatred of the NUM stemmed from the 1974 Heath cabinet. He revealed how the Prime Minister had been opposed to an early election in 1974 and preferred to "take on the miners in a fight to the finish and win." The* Mirror*'s industrial editor concluded that Thatcher was not interested in solving the 1984 strike, but "senses that she is on the brink of avenging that lost cause." '*

For the second edition the paper's proprietor changed the headline and took out no fewer than ten *paragraphs relating to the Prime Minister's role in the strike.*

Another Mirror *industrial journalist was Terry Pattinson. On 9th September Pattinson filed his report on the first day of the NUM-NCB talks in Edinburgh. The next day the Mirror's front page story contained his byline, BUT NOT ONE WORD OF WHAT HE HAD ACTUALLY WRITTEN, except for two innocuous quotes. Maxwell had in fact suppressed Pattinson's piece and substituted a totally inaccurate 120 word story.*

Labour's parliamentary leadership has come under the censor's axe. In late August Roy Hattersley made a speech condemning the violence by both pickets and police. The Sun's *report was headlined: "Hattersley's rap for pit thugs," but nowhere did (the paper) print the remark that "The police are guilty of conduct which we would have believed to be impossible in this country".*

'INS' AND 'OUTS' OF THE LIE MACHINE

If things can be put in to make a good story things can also be cut out. The mass Mansfield rally of 45,000 pit folk, so absolutely mobbed with supporters, men women and children, young folk and old, so overwhelming it was hard to discover an angle which would show the rally in a bad light. How about...Arthur...making a HITLERITE SALUTE TO THE CROWD! It could be headed ADOLF SCARGILL! What a cracking title! True he raised BOTH arms in a gesture to quiet the crowd, but so what? One arm was quietly cut out of the photo and another false, unreal and totally distorted edition of the daily diet hit the streets.

If you can amputate arms — why not make up statements?

Aug 18th ('84) news bulletins on BBC 1 and BBC 2 reported in their headlines that the President had said :—

'The Strike Would Continue Through The Winter.'

Actually he made no such statement. When the union contacted the BBC to ask them where the mythical statement came from, they said they had taken it from *The Miner.* The pages of *The Miner* were duely gone through but no such statement could be found. Finally Mr Robin Walsh speaking for the BBC said:—

'By no stretch of the imagination could we say that Mr Scargill said the strike would go on through the winter. We accept that we were wrong.'

Fine! but that apology didn't extend to the millions who watched the invented statement and believed like much else on TV that it was God's gospel truth.

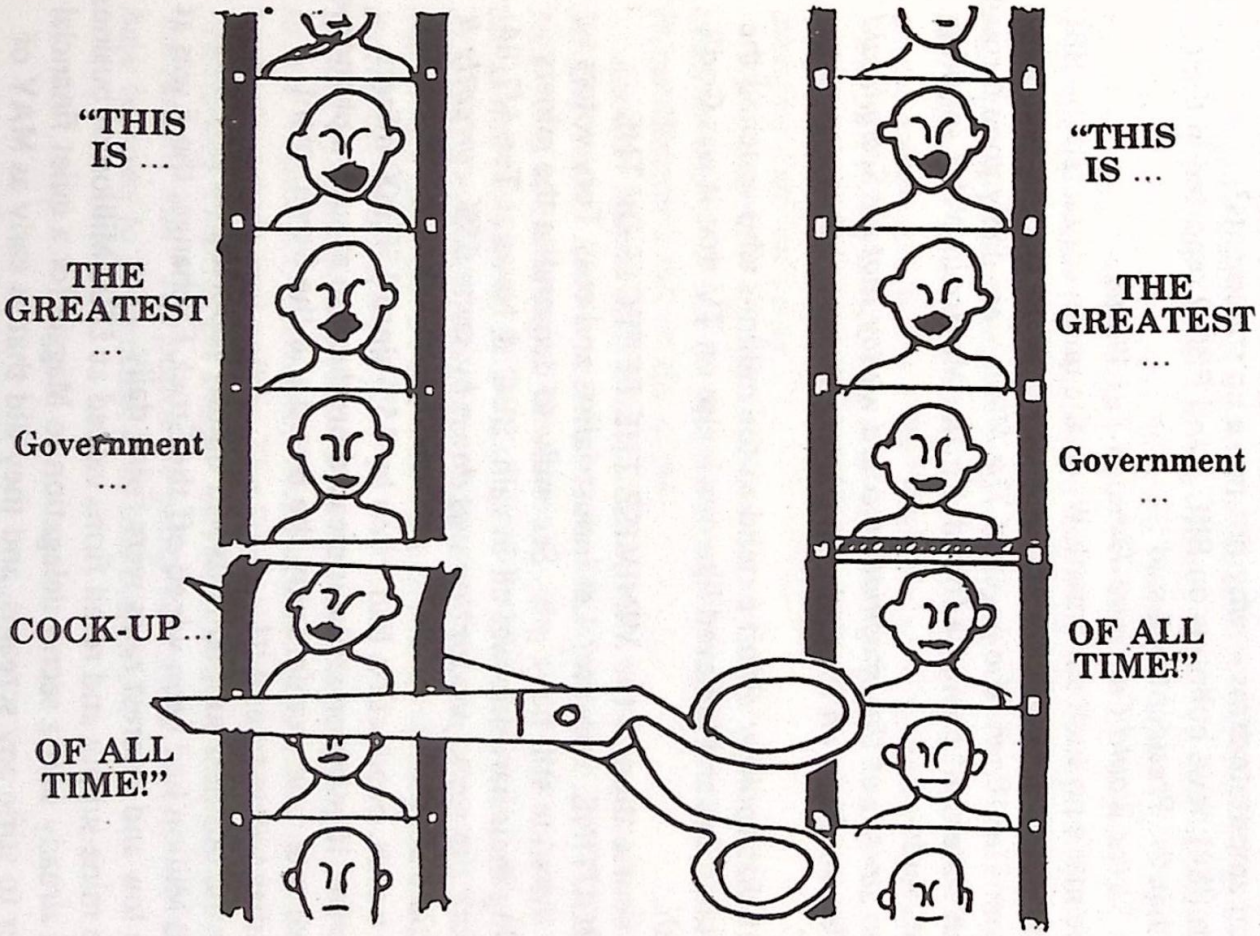
Then of course there is the MINIMISE THE EFFECTS OF THE STRIKE ROUTINE. Purpose? Let industrialists and cosy Tory voters think that the state still has a grip. Secondly to demoralise the miners into thinking their hardship was all in vain. BBC & News at Ten 4/7/84:—

'Before the strike production was down by some 65%, currently it Is only 50% down.'

In other words, production had *risen* by 15% since 150,000 miners went on strike. If going on strike increased production at such a phenomenal phenomenal rate, one wonders why the Board and the Government spent fortunes trying to end it!

Actually the business supplements had quietly reported on July 13th that £1800 Million had been wiped off the Stock Exchange; the £ was at an all time low and interest rates were rising daily.

Likewise mine-supply and retail firms valued at £800 Million of business a year had already sent a secret delegation to Maggie for a quiet financial backhander to stifle any screams, and they did that as early as MAY of 1984. Since that time the full costs of the strike both to the Government



Remember . . . on TV they can cut out what they want to make things look completely different.

BBC smears yet again

Long, long ago the media plumbed the sewer depths in this strike.

Or so we thought.

On the day a policeman was shot dead in a South Yorkshire pit village — a domestic affair which had no connection whatsoever with the strike — BBC midday TV news chose to report the story with their usual mining strike logo flashed on to the screen in the background.

Needless to say, no apologies or corrections were issued, but then again, when you're wholeheartedly immersed in the foul business of smear, of what concern is the denigration of a whole community to the BBC.

and to private Capitalism had been calculated at Billions of £.

The popular press and TV thought it best however to keep such facts from the public.

Similarly the great cover up operation regarding power stations and power cuts.

Wednesday 16/1/85 Barnet for 5½ hours
Holborn for 2 hours
Monday 20/1/85 Welwyn Garden 2 hours
Tuesday 22/1/85 Hackney for 4 hours
the sixth in four weeks.

In fact every corner of Britain had voltage reductions and many counties had power cuts, questions were asked in 'the House', about it but only *The Guardian* of the 18th January 1985 reported what a knife's edge the whole rested on. January 8th the CEGB boasted of meeting a demand of 42,000 MW. The truth was that only 42,800 MW were available with all sources including last back-up emergency jet engines secured to the floor going full blast. We were close, very very close but keeping the CEGBs vulnerability a closely guarded secret was one measure the press and TV by and large were happy to go along with.

MINIMISING THE SIZE OF SUPPORT again to assure the faithful and to demoralise the strikers has been another great thrust in the media's war.

Firstly minimising the size of demonstrations. Friday 23rd June 1984 for example, the BBC reported that *hundreds* of miners followed the coffin of picket Joe Green killed on the picket line. ITV later in the evening reported 8,000.

Secondly minimising support for the strike among actual miners. They had called an 86% strike of miners together with a 14% rebellion of scabs A SPLIT! Never referring to the different weights on the respective sides they have continually talked of 'The Split' giving the distinct impression to non-miners and non mining communities that about 50% of the miners were working and 50% were on strike, even an NCB admission that coal production in Nottingham was down 40% went unreported and despite the fact that the NUM had issued daily press reports of numbers of strike and numbers working, the media at large reported 'All pits working normally in Nottingham ALL THE TIME.'

60 MINUTE programme 25th May 1984 headline:—

'High court judge rules that Nottingham miners do have the right to work!'

The high court judge of course didn't rule on the miners at Corton-wood having the right to work. The scabs betrayal of our fight for that very 'Right To Work' was gently turned by the media to be *our* attempt to stop them having that right.

They filmed six women in Nottingham organising the right to ballot petititon and *totally* trivialised a rally of 10,000 women from the mining communities in Barnsley.

June 25th 1984 Bilston Glen sixty men went back to work. . . pickets couldn't stop them. Both channels reported that. Actually only thirteen scabs had went in to work. The other men included NUM safety workers working on a rota with the NUMs consent and donating their wages to a union charity.

Earlier on in June we read in all the press:—

'THE 70 STRONG BRANCH OF BARNSLEY WINDERS VOTED 60% FOR A RETURN TO WORK AT THEIR BRANCH MEETING.'

What follows next you have to catch very carefully. Careful reading of the facts reveal that yes, 70 people do in fact belong to the Barnsley winders branch. BUT only 11 went to the meeting, and only six of them voted (60%) to go to work and actually only two went in, and THEY ragged it in after their fellow branch members put the case to them.

'REVOLT IN SCARGILLS RANKS' it said in the press, even when the two would-be strike breakers were sitting at home back on strike. The intention of such headlines and distortions was not to *report* a revolt, but to orientate and organise one.

After hounding the NUM for months on the sovereignty of the ballot NACODs voted 80% in favour of strike action in just such a ballot. As soon as it was made clear that they had in fact called a strike for Thursday 25th October 1984 the press and TV started their divisive actions. At 7pm Channel 4 News Tuesday 16th October 1984 phoned a pit in Leicester where they had found a deputy who said HE wouldn't be going on strike. 80% favourable ballot for by the TV started pushing out a new boat. Will the areas be deciding to obey the strike call in separate meetings? *Shouldn't* the areas decide whether or not to strike? And so the whole propaganda machine started up again.

Monday, January 14th

The BBC 6 o'clock news reported that 1200 'new faces' returned to work. But at 6.30pm the same day the figure given over BFN was 600 and confirmed by an organiser of miners support in West Germany. Upon further enquiry BFN turns out to be the British Forces Network — the radio broadcast for servicemen overseas. Of course, it may be just a coincidence that the figure given on BBC National News was exactly double that given in transmissions for abroad.

Wednesday, January 23rd

The North Western area of the NCB reports that a 'record' number of 2,301 miners working that day means that two thirds of the Lancashire miners were working. If this be true, then it follows that the total Lancashire workforce must be 3,451. But in the NCB Report/Accounts 1983/4 (page 31) the total number of Lancashire miners is given as 6,500. Therefore, using the Coal Board's own figures, out of a workforce

of 6,500 there were 2,301 scabs. This works out that 4,199 were NOT working, or 64.6% of the workforce. So the NCB quite literally turned the figures on their heads by claiming two thirds of the workforce to be working, when in fact by their own official figures two thirds were NOT working.

Monday, February 11th – the disappearing miners

BBC local news at 6.30pm report that 6,900 men had returned to work, with 43,200 still on strike, giving a total workforce of just 50,100. Yet according to NCB Report/Accounts 1983/84 the manpower in Yorkshire is 56,000. Therefore, practically 6,000 men have disappeared.

The whole thing was shot through with distortions from the beginning. Notice how the Board deliberately used the expression 'Men Not On Strike' and deliberately gave the impression that this was in fact *men at work* – of course it never was.

Men 'Not On Strike' included those poor souls laid up in hospital through injury and mine diseases, long term sickness men and all the associated unions who whilst not on strike were not crossing picket lines – members of APEX for example and many COSA members, certain apprentices and trainee deputies. All of these were lumped into the figures of 'Not On Strike' even though not one of them went into the pits throughout the dispute.

THE BACK TO WORK MOVEMENT

The whole 'back to work movement' was of course a child of the media. It was the classical *self-fulfilling prophesy* worked on night and day to wear down the miners with feelings of isolation and futility.

Dramatic figures had to be pulled out every day, even if it was to report something quite insignificant. 'FIVE NEW FACES' went back to work today 'THE HIGHEST FIGURE FOR A WEDNESDAY SINCE NOVEMBER!' Put another way it meant nobody had gone to work on a Wednesday since November – but its impact as a dynamic piece of 'strike collapse' news is lost that way.

The first week of January 1985 the *Doncaster Star* banner headlines 'RECORD RETURN TO WORK IN AREA!' Actually the record was 0.6% bringing the areas total to 1%. Local interest and parochialism might have dictated a headline that read 'DONCASTER COALFIELD STRONGEST IN BRITAIN' or perhaps'99% OF DONCASTERS MINERS STAND FIRM!' but spreading the poison to all areas was the order of the day even for the local papers.

Elsewhere in January 1985 the TV's efforts to break the strike switched tack. Whereas previously they had focussed all attention on scab areas and

gave equal of disproportionate time coverage to them, now they switched to one pit in which a number of scabs had returned in an otherwise solidly striking area. This pit was then subjected to daily blanket coverage, its pulse minutely monitored. . . to the absolute exclusion of all news to the contrary everywhere else in the area.

Thus the rise in fame during the last weeks of January and first week of February for Dinnington. Suddenly this pit by implication becomes indicative and typical of the whole area:—

'And in Yorkshire today another ten men went back to work at Dinnington Colliery.'

and *'Deputies again refused to cross the picket line at Dinnington Colliery today.'*

Perversely giving the impression that deputies *not* crossing picket lines was somehow an exception rather than the rule.

Later Kellingly Colliery became the media's pit with almost hourly reports on numbers going back.

MINIMISING SUPPORT FROM OTHER WORKERS TO THE MINERS

On Monday 25th June 1984 first day of the rail steel blockade of steel works, ITV crowed about the miners tactic having failed miserably as the majority of railway men had ignored the picket line at Llangwern and delivered steel. 60% of railway men had defied the call we were told.

The other side had told us that miners had been unable to locate the branch line in time and therefore the first two trains could find no pickets. However they were stopped coming out and both drivers said they wouldn't cross a picket line and supported the miners cause entirely.

Similarly on the 3rd July 1984 BBC *60 Minute* Programme, when at Scunthorpe Bridge the first of a daily run of 13 trains stopped at the picket line, after which no other trains came out of the yard, incidentally right until the last day of the strike. *60 Minute* had reported:—

'Pickets had some *success when* a *train stopped at pickets.'*

Anti-strike raiders slash miner's disabled wife

Hooded raiders have slashed and choked a miner's disabled wife.

Mrs Brenda Stout (above) whose husband is on strike from Bickershaw Colliery in Lancashire, was in her wheelchair at home when the men called.

Shouting obscene abuse over her involvement in the strike, they put a cord around her neck and tightened it until she was choking. They then slashed her face and arm with a Stanley knife. Mrs Stout relived the horror attack:

"Three of them, hooded, burst into the house when I opened the door. I thought it was my husband returning from the picket line at the pit.

"They put this cord around my neck and pulled it tighter until I was choking and all the time they were shouting and using this filthy language against me.

"One of them tried to slash my face with a Stanley knife; I put my arm up to protect myself and that got cut."

After ransacking her house, the men left warning that there would be more violence if Mrs Stout continued to support the strike.

The attack, which has been reported in the local Press in Lancashire but deliberately ignored in the mass media, has left Mrs Stout badly shaken, but more determined than ever in her resolve:

"We'll never be intimidated and no way will I ever knuckle under. I've stood by my husband since day one of this dispute, helping to make parcels up, running a market stall to raise funds, helping with the food, they'll never scare me off.

Mrs Stout reported the attack and obscene threatening phone calls to the police.

"Detectives came to see me, protection was promised, but nothing's been done. The police just don't want to know."

THE LONE RANGER VERSUS THE PIT THUGS

Earlier the whole country had the images of the lawless thug-miner, nightly on the TV screens. Terrorising the poor quietly-spoken, but thoughtful scabs.

Not since the lone ranger have so many black-hatted baddies done nightly battle with the white horsed good guys. The situation was never reversed, there was never a question of 'balance' on this subject.

Ever heard about the striking NUM official from Ireland Colliery in Derbyshire attacked by scabs with a dog chain and nearly blinded? Ever heard of Peter and Janice Neilan, their car and garage burnt out, their house damaged to the tune of £9,000, 'REVENGE' sprayed on the walls. . . ? He was a striker, the men apprehended scabs. The media newshounds had flocked to the house. . . another potential horror story about the strikers. ITN rushed a TV crew up from Birmingham. Their disappointment that he was a striker was so plain they didn't even bother to set up the equipment, just packed up and went home.

Virtually every branch official in Doncaster has been attacked, either personally or their homes bombarded or their cars attacked. The police on every occasion have chosen not to take action.

Brenda and Joe Story of Lancashire, loyal in their support of the strike, started to receive abusive and insulting phone calls. Early one October morning, Brenda who is confined to a wheelchair because of osteo-arthritis was alone after Joe had gone out picketing. Men wearing balaclavas forced their way in, threw her out of the wheelchair and kicked her on the floor. One of them attempted to strangle her with a cord around the neck – while others wrecked the house.

Other strikers have been attacked with axes and in one case a saw, which inflicted a cut requiring 132 stitches in a Notts striker's face, head and back.

Not that all the stories of attacks upon scabs are correct anyway. The insurance company are very interested in the much publicised burning down of a scab's bungalow in Yorkshire – it's the third time it's happened you see. . . the previous two times before the strike began.

Remember Barry Newton? He was the poor Geordie scab standing at the bus stop when a car full of pickets pulled alongside and threw acid in his face. That story got national coverage on all channels, radio waves and newspapers. Trouble was he was found to have acid burns on the palms of his hands also, and had been working in the lamp cabin with battery acid. He appeared in court in February for wasting police time and attempting to gain criminal injuries payments through fraud. Nobody really chose to make the point that having gone through millions of homes, the story being fixed in anti-picket folk law, the story ought to

have been heavily corrected. People today still quote the story of the poor Geordie miner who had acid thrown in his face, but don't know it was the poor Georgie who did it himself.

POLICE INFILTRATION/PRESS SILENCE

Mark Hollingsworth, in his recent article, recounts that in terms of press cover ups:

> *'. . . the most remarkable incident was when two plain-clothes policemen were caught red-handed masquerading as miners at the Cresswell Strike Centre in Derbyshire in June 1984. The police officers PC Stevens and Sgt. Monk were identified by a local reporter, Carmel O'Toole, whose newspaper the* Worksop Guardian *carried the story on its front page. She also phoned through copy to the* Daily Mail *and* Daily Mirror *but they spiked the story. Names, addresses, telephone numbers and sworn statements concerning several incidents were compiled by* Tribune *for any inquiring journalist or editor. Fleet Street turned a blind eye.'*

Remember the touching report in *The Sun* of the Falklands war widow, that heart rendering interview of her feelings of loss and hatred for 'the Argies' that turned out to have been a massive con'. Written by a young female typist in the press office who IMAGINED what she would have felt IF she had been married and IF her husband had been a soldier and IF he had gone to the Falklands and been killed.

Not many people in Britain actually know that was a big lie, but the media people did and they bollocked *The Sun* for it, so they would never do anything like that again. . . would they? Oh no?

Remember that touching scene. . . that poor Welsh woman on both channels, a confused ordinary Welsh woman, a housewife the TV said, a miners wife. 'It had all become political and men were being manipulated' and in that all persuasive Welsh lilt it was time for everyone to go back to work.

Turned out, she was Swedish and her husband was a trainee manager, but that would have spoiled the story so it went unreported.

DIXON OF DOCK GREEN AND MR PLOD VERSUS THE PIT BEASTS

Turning briefly to the question of the police in the dispute, briefly because it requires a study of its own (and will follow this pamphlet on the media) which could take in the unprecedented growth in power, subjects of major concern. The point to recognise here is that an independent press, even a bourgeois liberal independent press – one which considered itself a watchdog of liberty, a check against dictatorship, a balance against infringement of rights. A press or media which considered itself in this way would certainly have expressed very widespread alarm at what has been a veritable putsch by police over codes of practice, civil liberties and existing methods of conduct. The police have during this dispute become the Executive and the Administration of law. They are the law makers and the executors of those self-made laws.

The shifting of control from Area constabularies to a National Co-ordinating Centre, the linking of overall control to the Special Branch, the overt militarisation of constabularies, the fusion of all police forces into riot squads, snatch squads, and Special Patrol Groups means we now have de-facto a Political Police Force in Britain; armed, partisan, and at the personal dictat of Counter Insurgency Agencies and the Prime Minister herself.

Such a development in almost any so called bourgeois democratic country in the world would have been met by very strong protestations and exposures by the self designated 'free press'. We have been met by at best complete silence, it hasn't happened, the nature of life in Britain is the same as normal and more usually we have had a touch of the Falklands jingoism for the long suffering British Bobby...no not a riot policeman, but a step slightly removed from Toy Town's 'Mr Plod'. It is he who is always injured but never injures anyone. It is he who stands exposed and vulnerable and not the young picket in his jeans and T shirt. More important, it is he who is trying to hold the gates of civilization closed against the hooligan mob outside, threatening to spoil the warmth of the Tory livingroom, upset the British way of life. The press creates the climate in which the sight of a policeman now represents security and a sense of 'belonging'. Of being British and part of a family.

On the other hand the miners are now criminalised, pushed out to the margins of society, they are the new terrorists, they are 'the enemy within'. David Steel calls us 'The New Fascists'!

In order to facilitate a distortion so bent, it has been necessary for the

media at large to minimise and normalise the actions of the police.

After months of picketing, hundreds upon hundreds of arrests, thousands of injuries, both channels reported that handcuffs had been used for the *first time* in the dispute.

The day before Arthur was arrested at Orgreave, the pickets had been penned into a corner by a multiple black line, a square of police which contained them in a tight grip. For no reason whatsoever their ranks parted and the mounted psychopaths rode into the captive crowd flaying their night sticks indiscriminately. Both channels that evening reported:—

'Police horses were called in to restore order'.

Where police moved into a quiet situation to deliberately create violence and confrontation, the news, where it deems to report it, goes through verbal contortions at the level of doublespeak:—

Thursday 27th September 1984 ITV *Calendar* coyly reported on Allerton Bywater —

'. . . it had been a peaceful picket but a sign that relations were about to deteriorate came when police issued riot shields.'

On Friday 17th August 1984 both ITV and BBC 1 News at 5.40 covered the pickets at Gasgoine Wood who had arrived to stop a solitary miner going to work.

When the convoy of police vehicles were seen coming down the pit lane the men assumed it to be the scab coming in. They surged forward and feeling very bouyant and confident mood swept the police right off the road and consequently blocked it. The atmosphere had been jovial, the pickets confident of their personal strength against the equally numbered police, as the pickets non-violently but relentlessly pushed forward they were singing. A sergeant after trying to hold back the swell but finally inched off the road conceded good naturedly, 'I think that's one to you!' Next the police drew back a few paces, a moment passed, then they drew truncheons and charged, swinging and smashing into the packed ranks of pickets. At this moment the pickets fell back rapidly into the ploughed field and having nothing else to hand vollied the police with lumps of clay and earth. The sky for a few minutes was black with flying mud. Both channels cut and reversed the film to show the clods of earth being thrown and *then* the batton charge, at the same time the pundits announcing:—

'Police were forced to draw battons to protect themselves against stone-*throwing pickets!'*

Incidentally, the lone shot of the madcap policeman lashing out repeatedly at the fallen picket at Orgeave, a scene which shocked the viewers nationwide was not a fluke, not a slip, the shot was included in order to *reinforce* the idea that the vast majority of cops never do things like that. That this was a singular exception. The press in true democratic

tradition had picked it up and faithfully reported it. Of course the implication was that disciplinary action would be taken against this solitary rogue cop.

IN REALITY SUCH SCENES HAPPENED DAILY: SUCH SCENES HAVE BEEN REPEATED BY THOUSANDS OF POLICEMEN THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE STRIKE AND THE TV CAMERAS HAVE FILMED A GREAT MANY OF THEM, THOUGH NEVER SHOWN THEM.

The perverse intention of the item is to feed the British folk myth 'Well, you'll always get *one* policeman loosing his temper, he's only human, after all those violent pickets have been attacking him all day'. But the rest of the force of course behave like kid-gloved gentlemen.

NOW THAT THE MEMORY OF THAT MAD COP STRIKING AGAIN AND AGAIN THE UNARMED FALLEN PICKET HAS FADED FROM THE MEMORY, WHO WILL CARE THAT RUSSELL BROOMHEAD (THE PICKET) HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH RIOT: THAT HE FACES JAIL AND THE LOSS OF HIS JOB AS WELL AS SURVIVING THE NEAR LOSS OF HIS LIFE? THE POLICEMAN WHO TRIED TO MURDER HIM AFTER FACING AN ENQUIRY BY OTHER POLICE OFFICERS FACED NO DISCIPLINARY ACTION WHATEVER AND HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLICALLY IDENTIFIED. HE IS STILL AT LARGE.

ACE IN THE PACK OF LIES

Ace in the pack of lies has been the Molly McGuires stories. The mysterious team of tight knit disciplined, balaclava'd, red wrecking, outside influenced, pit commandos.

Behind the story is the implication that ordinary working people either couldn't or wouldn't outwit the cops. WE HAVE.

That flying pickets can't co-ordinate rapid swoops on unsuspecting scabs, withdraw and strike elsewhere, then melt away without trace. WE CAN, WE DID AND WE WILL.

All of those actions, many of which I have been involved with in one form or another, were co-ordinated and actioned not by some mysterious master mind, or shadowy figure, a political Godfather, a team of imported specialist hit men, or even the NUM leaders the press loves to hate. But by the pickets, and their immediate elected line leaders.

Carried through by disciplined, brave, skilled pickets but ordinary mine-folk nonetheless.

Wednesday 22nd August, 1984

A solitary Coal Board official (as yet still unidentified and nameless) who had been besieged by pickets suspecting scabs might be going in at Bentley Colliery, reported that two of the people involved in building a barricade on the pit lane wore combat jackets. Finding subsequently that NOBODY was going to try and get in to that colliery the pickets true to Doncaster fashion moved onto the nearby Armthorpe Colliery.

Armthorpe had itself been earlier that day blockaded with a crane and surface equipment, driven and put in place by the Armthorpe pickets.

Later a rumour, and quoted *as* a rumour in *The Morning Telegraph* stated that one of the people who had put security camera's out of action at Bentley and had been wearing a balaclava to avoid detention was thought to be a thin faced girl with blond hair. Another paper reported brown hair! The boys in the Welfare had a good laugh at the long haired hippy pitman they thought actually responsible. Suddenly the story was siezed upon and a massive myth was about to be born.

THE RED SCARE STRIKES DONCASTER

From two men in a combat jacket apiece and a mysterious blond/brunette in a balaclava (which one nameless person said he thought he had seen) which no-one could actually confirm, we had instant NATIONAL COVERAGE of what was *AN ENTIRELY FICTITIOUS EVENT.*

Fifty highly trained uniformed military personnel swept into action against the police, striking at Bentley and Armthorpe with skill and precision.

23rd August. . .by 3.40 *Ceefax* was stating —

'THE POLICE CLASHED WITH PICKETS AND A PARA-MILITARY GROUP IN ARMTHORPE.'

No attempt was made to substantiate the story, and it ripped through millions of homes as a statement of gospel truth.

The local sleuth hot on the trial of what could be a hot exclusive on his own doorstep, dug down to the bone looking for a bit of evidence but found nowt and nobody; it was the pot at the end of the rainbow. In *Doncaster Star* 23rd August he reported:—

'NCB spokesman advised to treat the report with extreme caution.'

Police spokesmen said they had not been in contact with any group and no officers had reported extraordinary activity, there had been

'no real evidence'.

Finally the sleuth had contact the Home Office who said the report was 'not substantiated', but why spoil a good story with facts and the following day the press continued:—

'Armthorpe, scene of a paramilitary uniformed raid yesterday.'

ITV *News At One:*

'ARMTHORPE WAS SEALED OFF YESTERDAY AFTER HAVING BEEN VISITED BY PEOPLE WEARING UNIFORMS.'

And just for added good measure a welcome development:—

Thursday 23rd August 1984, Radio 2 News at 3pm reported:

'SEVERAL DEVICES *THOUGHT TO BE PETROL BOMBS(!) HAVE BEEN FOUND IN THE PIT VILLAGE OF ARMTHORPE. THE* DEVICES *HAVE BEEN SENT AWAY FOR TESTS.'*

Presumably the tests were to discover if the DEVICES were Co-op or Northern Dairy. Later TV reports simply reported 'Devices thought to be bombs. . .'

CONCLUSION

The degeneration of the British media has reached its lowest point. We, in the pit communities, have had the blinkers torn from our eyes. The real class nature of the media has revealed itself to us, we in turn must try and reveal it to the labour movement, expose it, and tear the working classes from their transfixation to that screen. To wipe the sleep from people's eyes. To start believing our own class experiences and class instincts, to start producing our own news, our own TV, our own films; not just for the chosen few activists but for the class at large TO GET THE TRUTH AND THE FACTS INTO ORDINARY PEOPLES HOMES.

20 million people per night are glued to TV channel news. . .
20 million people are spoon fed the political/computer programme which will determine their responses to strikes, rebellions, wars and general elections.
It is part of the reason why Thatcher is in Government, despite the worst social conditions and repressions for decades.
It is much of the reason for the existence of the SDP.
It is the tenticles of the ruling class.
Our task must be to tenaciously fight against its all embracing stultifying, smothering grip and to lay the beast to rest.

Scab/Tory links start to show

A senior journalist involved in a scab miners' organisation is an adviser of Margaret Thatcher.

David Hart, who has reportedly donated money to and advised the so-called National Working Miners' Committee, has important connections with the Prime Minister.

According to Hobart House executives, he also has a close relationship with Ian MacGregor.

In surprising admission, the *Sunday Times*, a Rupert Murdoch owned newspaper and close supporter of Margaret Thatcher, reports that Mr Hart is part of a group "advising Mrs Thatcher on matters of state."

Mr. Hart is a freelance journalist with his own company who normally avoids making any comment on his Thatcher/Coal Board connections which could cause embarrassment.

He is especially keen on playing down his MacGregor contacts.

But at Hobart House there is no such reticence and Executives there say he has been instrumental in influencing MacGregor's thinking "particularly in boosting the importance of the working miners," reports the *Financial Times*.

Yet another Conservative Party connection is in the shape of David Negus, the solicitor to the National Working Miners' Committee.

During the Conservative Party Conference he was a prominent speaker for the Society of Conservative Lawyers.

A further strand in the Tory web comes in the shape of a Mr. Tim Bell. Mr. Bell is a director of Saatchi and Saatchi, the advertising company which played a major role in persuading the electorate to vote Mrs. Thatcher into power.

Like Mr. Hart, Mr. Bell has regular contact and major professional influence over Ian MacGregor.

FOOTNOTE ON THE 'HONEST WORKING MINERS'

Slowly but inevitably the whole undercover network of political and business forces behind the continuing anti-NUM movement is being revealed.

And not a very pleasant sight it makes, with a whole host of shadowy figures being exposed.

Some of the people listed below have featured in previous issues of THE MINER, but we feel the time is now ripe for an update, as new and interesting names appear. The links confirm what we have always maintained– that the NUM is fighting an unholy alliance of dark forces whose aim is nothing less than the destruction of effective trade unionism. Other unions ignore the warning at their peril.

DAVID HART:

He has increasingly emerged as one of the key figures in the whole anti-NUM campaign.

Operating from a suite of rooms at the prestigious Claridges Hotel in London, his history is interesting.

A wealthy property developer, in 1975 his expensive habits led him to the bankruptcy court after running up debts of nearly £1 million. Hart had acquired a country estate, a Rolls Royce, a BMW and a fond liking for commuting by helicopter. 'I'm afraid I've been very silly,' he told the bankruptcy court.

Mr Hart's past 'silliness' has in no way impeded his access to No. 10. Last November the SUNDAY TIMES described him as 'advising Mrs Thatcher on matters of state.'

Mr Hart also has close connections with Ian MacGregor, although his regard for the old man appears to have diminished recently (some unkind references were recently published in PRIVATE EYE).

Hart's father used to work with MacGregor, a family friend for many years and his brother, Tim, shared an office with the Coal Board Chairman. Hart himself a is a regular visitor to Hobart House. He was responsible for placing pro-scab ads in the DAILY MAIL, DAILY EXPRESS and SUNDAY TIMES and also arranged for an anti-Scargill banner to be trailed by an aircraft over Brighton during last year's TUC.

TIM BELL:

Another leading Thatcher aide, he has immersed himself deeply in the organisation of the scab miners. Until recently he was an important director of Saatchi and Saatchi, the advertising agents who masterminded Thatcher's general election propaganda campaigns. Bell has been acting as MacGregor's public relations adviser during the strike (a particularly thankless task) and has actually designed pro-scab propaganda in the Saatchi and Saatchi offices.

HODGKINSON AND TALLENTS:

are the solicitors acting for leading scabs Robert Taylor and Ken Foulstone whose actions against the NUM led to the appointment of a receiver. Senior figures with H & T include: David Payne, former Tory Mayor of Newark and Leader of the

Tory group on Newark District Council; Jeremy Ware, Chairman of the Conservative Association in Grantham, Thatcher's home town; Andrew Fearn, Tory Party Chairman and former Secretary of Newark Chamber of Commerce.

SARAH HOGG:
is a public relations adviser to the National Working Miners' Committee. She is also the wife of the Tory MP for Grantham, Douglas Hogg.

LORD TAYLOR OF HADFIELD:
has donated undisclosed amounts to scab miners following appeals by Sir Hector Laing (see below). In addition to being a member of the national committees of the Freedom Association and Aims of Industry, both right-wing anti-union organisations, he is also President of Taylor Woodrow, which operates highly profitable open cast mining operations under contract to the Coal Board.

Taylor Woodrow has recently carried out a feasibility study into the purchase of two power stations which would be fuelled by their open cast mines. In 1983 the firm donated £44,035 to the Tory Party.

SIR HECTOR LAING:
In addition to making funds available to scab miners, he was instrumental in setting up the so-called miners Ballot Fund which appealed to other business men to help fund the scabs legal actions. Sir Hector is Chairman of United Biscuits which in 1983 donated £43,000 to the Conservative Party.

LORD HANSON:
Chairman of Hanson Trust whose subsidiary company has also donated undisclosed sums of money to scab miners. The company has supplied excavating equipment for Coal Board opencast workings, and the latest annual report of Hanson Trust revealed a £50,000 donation to the Tory Party.

GERALD HARTUP:
full-time organiser of the Freedom Association, he toured the Notts coalfield last summer making contact with the scab miners.

IRENE McGIBBON:
Portrayed herself as national organiser of the so-called Miners' Wives Back to Work Movement, and as an ordinary miners' wife defending 'the right to work' (her husband Bob was a long-term scab at Betteshanger colliery in Kent). Both Mr and Mrs McGibbon are in fact full members of the Tory Party and two years ago Mrs McGibbon failed as a Tory candidate in a local council election. This 'ordinary housewife' was last year allowed to address the Tory Party conference and was given the ritual standing ovation for a predictable attack on the NUM. In 1974 she organised the so-called Cowley Wives' revolt while her husband, who then worked for British Leyland, was campaigning for a mass meeting to overturn a strike called after the victimisation of shop steward Alan Thornett.

DAVID NEGUS:
the lawyer who represents the so-called National Working Miners' Committee, was a key-note speaker at a meeting organised by the Society of Conservative Lawyers at last year's Tory Party Conference. He described the Tories as 'the only political party capable of grasping the nettle of the challenge posed by the miners' strike.

NICHOLAS LYELL:
The QC representing the three scab Derbyshire miners who took legal action against the NUM. He is Tory MP for mid-Bedfordshire, Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Attorney General and Vice Chairman of the Society of Conservatie Lawyers.

With the possible exception of the McGibbons, all the Conservative-oriented people are rich or super-rich. Small wonder that in an unguarded moment, Chris 'Silver Birch' Butcher, the Notts superscab, said when questioned about scab funding:

'To be honest, it's from wealthy business people who want the strike to finish. Their names will never come out.'

He might have added that their target was not the strike alone, but the destruction of effective trade unionism. Such policies ensure there will be no industrial peace in Britain until their aims are thwarted.

The Evening of 25th February 1985

After a day of media gloating on the collapse of the miners strike and wide coverage of Thatcher's statement that the principle that would never be conceded was management's right to manage, and MacGregor's statement that they would not tolerate what he called interference by the NUM in running the industry, we come to the concluding statement in a series on *Solidarity*, Channel 4.

> *'The question that Solidarity asked was correct — "we are not just workers here, you are not the boss." '*

'People 'on the left' have a tendency to take for granted that everyone knows that the capitalist press is biased and that this assumption is commonly accepted. It is not, a great many people in Britain, perhaps the majority still believe that the British press is free and thruthful, that the T.V. has no axe to grind and reports the news faithfully as it happens.
I hope this pamphlet will show those people how dangerously wrong that belief is.'

David Douglass

This pamphlet has been published by the author and the Doncaster, Cambridge and South london DAM-IWA groups.
The Direct Action Movement is the British section of the International Workers Association. (Anarcho-syndicalists)

A third of the price of this pamphlet will be donated to victimised miners.

60p